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T H E

# C R I S I S.

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N U M B E R LIII. *To be continued Weekly,*  
*DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.*

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SATURDAY, January 20, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.]

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—We are in Blood  
Stept in so far, that should we wade no more,  
Returning were as tedious as going on.  
Shakesp. Macbeth.

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T O L O R D M A N S F I E L D.

My Lord,



OUR Lordship's late Speech in the House of Lords upon the *Restraining Bill*, has opened a large Field of Contemplation to the Moralist, the Politician, and Divine: I might say, indeed, to the whole *Christian World*, who view your Lordship's Principles as the *English* do your Person, with the utmost Horror and Detestation. Of your notable Harangue the Motto at the Head of my Paper is a concise, but just Epitome. I admire your Lordship's Magnanimity. You despise the narrow Principles of found Philosophers, honest Politicians, and orthodox Divines. The groveling Maxim, "*Nihil utile quod non honestum.*" (permit me to translate it by our vulgar Proverb, "*Honesty is the best Policy,*") a Maxim to which the greatest Nations have owed their Power and Prosperity, is



too trite and old to find a Patron in your Lordship. Though it had long prevailed in the *heathen*, though it hath been since adopted in the *Christian* World: nay, though your favourite *Tully* labours in it's Praises, yet has it never biased your Lordship's *political*, or *judicial* Conduct. Great Souls are not to be confined by Tenets to which the Generality of Mankind subscribe; No,---They make, and hold *their own*. With such a singular and peculiar Spirit your Lordship *plans, counsels, acts* and *speaks*. In the same House, where your Lordship, by your *judicial Proxies* (for you feared the Eye of the equitable *Camden*) effected the Ruin of an injured *Individual\**, you have lately owned yourself an *Accomplice* in the Destruction of an *injured Nation*. In the Case of *Mr. Thickness* you absconded, you neither dared to show your Teeth, nor espouse your own pitiful Resentments; the Dread of engaging in a *legal* Question with a *Camden* over awed you; you worked then *underhandedly*, by *Proxies*: You had your *Chancellor*, your *Denbeigh*, and your *Scotch Lords*, upon that Occasion, for your *Agents*. But in the Case of *America*, you have ventured to appear in *Person*. Like a Great Soul, you can lend your Hand openly to *Murder*, though you scorn to be detected in a *Larceny*. I must confess that your Lordship, when you delivered your Sentiments upon the *Restraining Bill*, had screwed yourself up to such a surprising pitch of political Effrontery, that you pronounced the Speech of a *Parricide* with all the mimic boldness of another *Cataline*. Your Lordship's known Principles will preclude you from the *Esteem*, but your late desperate Avowal of such Principles has drawn down upon you the *Wonder* of Mankind. The *Tories* applaud your *persecuting* Spirit; the *Whigs* are amazed at your *Machiavelian* Doctrines in a free Country, whose *Liberties* are fixed (as they conceive) on the solid Basis of a just and happy *Revolution*. On the other hand, *Administration* congratulate each other, that the timid, the reserved, the circumspect Lord *Mansfield*, should lay himself so open, even in the Face of Parliament, as to declare in the most explicit Terms, his full Assent and Concurrence with them in every despotic and destructive step, which they have yet taken against *America*, that he should not only vindicate, but *father*, such unconstitutional Devices against *Revolutional Resistance* as must, sooner or later, draw down the just Vengeance of this Nation upon the Heads of the whole *Confederacy*. These *Tyranic Traitors* rejoice to see a Man of your Lordship's great and fatal Abilities added to their guilty Number; for on the Number and Importance of their foul Adherents they place their Safety and Defence. These your *Accomplices*, my Lord, hope to derive Strength, Support, Protection and Security, from your Lordship's late unlimited Professions

\* *Mr. Thickness*, See Crisis No. 7, 10, 30.



in open Senate. If such were your Lordship's Opinions, the World can have no doubt but they must have influenced all your *Counsels* in relation to *America*. Your Lordship's Words (I do not mean the *Tenor*, but the *Purport* of them) I shall take Leave to repeat by Sentences, because they are too remarkable to pass without a separate Comment. In doing this, your Lordship will pardon me, if I consider one of the greatest Men in Europe, for a Moment, as an obsequious *Proxy*, *Tool*, and *Echo*, to one of the worst; I mean Lord *Bute*; not presuming, however, to insinuate that your Lordship is, in any respect, *inferior* to the *Thane*.

Your Lordship was pleased to open (as it was supposed) your whole Heart upon this Occasion in the House of Lords: If you did, your *Counsels* (ruinous to Great Britain) must have corresponded with your Declarations; and then the whole Empire will owe its Declension, and perhaps its Fall, in an eminent Degree, to the superior Abilities of Lord *Mansfield*. If you did not, your Lordship was guilty of the grossest *Falshood* and *Deceit* in that august Assembly. On the other hand, if your *Counsels* to your *Sovereign* varied from your real Sentiments promulgated in Parliament, you must have been guilty of *Perjury* in the *Cabinet*. But the whole Nation are ready to acquit your Lordship of both these dishonourable Charges. They believe (and with the greatest Reason) that your *Counsels* have ever been agreeable to your late Declarations, and your late Declarations to your *Principles*. I shall therefore select such Parts only of your Lordship's Speech in *public* as discover the evil Tendency of your Advice in *private*. Thus I freely exculpate your Lordship of *Deceit*, tho' I must, in justice to my Country, impeach you of *High Treason*. Yes, my Lord; *Counsels* built upon such unconstitutional, unjust, and pernicious Principles, as you have just disclosed, must mark your Lordship as an Enemy to this Country. If your Lordship can hear them without a Blush, and a strong disposition to recant, I shall be induced to think that Learning and uncommon Abilities are Curses to Mankind.

I touch upon your Lordship's *Exordium*, merely because one Expression in it, (I mean that of *Rebel Army* opposed to *royal Army*) leads me to take notice of one of the most pernicious Errors which could have been implanted in the infant Breast of an *English Sovereign*; yet by your Colleague *Bute*, and yourself, my Lord, it was not only implanted, but impressed. I will remind your Lordship of it as I proceed.---That a *Royal Army* should be so employed against valuable, brave, and loyal Subjects, driven (for *ministerial purposes*) to the last Despair, is a Disgrace to England, to the  
Sovereign,



Sovereign, to English Councils, to an English Parliament, and to human Nature. This *Army* is, in Truth, a *ministerial Army*; it is Lord *Bute's*, and Lord *Mansfield's* Army. By calling it *royal*, your Lordship throws the blackest Imputations on your *Sovereign*. By this Appellation you insinuate, that in all the outrageous *Murders* and *Desolations* it had (before its providential defeat) committed, its savage Operations were directed by the Will and Pleasure, nay the strict Command of the *most pious* Prince in Christendom. Thus your Lordship most jesuitically turns the public Eye from the *ministerial Accessories*, to the *royal Principal*. That such a *Principal* exists *America* has felt. That the *Heart* of this unhappy Homicide is no less guilty than those of his ensnaring *Accessories*, every *Whig* in England believes. I will tell your Lordship upon what grounds they have fixed a Belief so unfavourable to every Quality which should adorn and endear a *Father of his People*. They have founded it, my Lord, upon that Basis which your Lordship and your Colleague *Bute* most industriously laid almost in the Cradle of your *Sovereign*. Lord *Bute*, like a *true Scot* would have formed his Mind (if possible) to his own purposes in the very Womb. He took, however, the earliest Opportunities of bending the *royal Twigg* himself. The first Rudiments being laid, your Lordship was, in due Time, admitted to *assist*. What was, for the worst of reasons, practised upon that *Solomon*, *James the First*, your Lordships, for the like reasons, successfully perpetrated upon *pious George the Third*. The principle, of all others, infixed the deepest, was traitorous and destructive to the last Degree. This it was: "That *Kings* are made, not by the *People*, " or for their *sole Benefit*, but that they derive their Right and Title from " *above*, as *God's Vicegerents upon Earth*." The Consequence, my Lord, is plain; *oppressed America* has felt it: Against such *Divinities*-regent all *Resistance* whatsoever must be *unlawful*, and every oppressed Subject so *resisting* must be a *Rebel*. Thus I account for the propriety of your Lordship's Term, *Rebel Army*, and for your applying it (as every *Court-Sycophant* does) to the *Americans*, who have been driven into Arms by such impolitic and pernicious *Councils* as your Lordship's.---A brave and loyal People, whose Ancestors left this Country because they justly abhorred, and therefore sensibly renounced, *passive Obedience* to one of the weakest and worst *Tyaants* (except *one*) that ever sat upon the Throne of England. If your Lordship and your Colleague have (and we know you have) infused the same false and detested Principles into another Prince, as infected *James*, and broke out to the Ruin of *Charles the First*, he must necessarily look upon every Species of *Resistance* as *Rebellion*. As such he must have been taught (like *Charles*) to call and treat it. Like *Charles* he must at length succeed. Your Lordships will probably be Joint-Figurers in the *closing Scene*. The Day will



will come when your Lordships must be answerable for every ruinous Consequence that may ensue from the Superiority of this *Rebel Army*, as you and your *abettors*, affect to call them: an *army* provoked by yourselves to stand forth in defence of their Liberties, Properties, and Lives, which have been attacked by every Species of Cruelty which Tyranny could invent, or Inhumanity inflict.---I now pursue your Lordship's Sentiments again; which you declared to have been in disfavour of the *Americans*, ever since the Commencement of that unhappy Dispute.---From this Declaration I may fairly collect that your Lordship's *Advice in Council* has gone hand in hand with these *liberal Sentiments* of your's from the very first. If so, your Lordship lent your patriotic Aid betimes to the bringing on of national Misfortunes.---Your Lordship, in the next place, upon no better Evidence than that of *Montcalm's Letters*, declared your full persuasion that *America* had *concerted* a Scheme of *Independence* ever since the Peace of Paris.---If your Lordship, as a *Statesman*, dived no deeper for Evidence than *Montcalm's Letters*, you are neither a *Burleigh*, nor a *Walsingham*. Could your Lordship *advise* that a whole Nation should be proscribed, his Majesty's Protection withdrawn, and the Standard of *Tyranny* erected against her, upon no better grounds than these? For Argument's sake only, I will suppose she really had *concerted*, nay began to *execute* this Scheme of *Independence*; was *Slavery* on the one hand, or *Annihilation* on the other, to be her Doom? Yet such was the Tendency of the rash and fatal *Measures* taken against her; which *Measures* your Lordship does not hesitate to *approve*. As your Lordship has confessed that you *approve* them, you most certainly *advised* them. How successful these have proved, your Lordship and the whole Kingdom by this Time know, upon better Evidence than the *Letters of Montcalm*, or than those, which have been first garbled, and then published by ministerial Orders in the *London Gazette*; that infamous Vehicle of weekly *Lies*, fabricated and uttered under the *Royal Sanction* to deceive the *Public*.

In one instance only your Lordship seemed to differ with your *Party*, let me rather say, your *Faction*; as to the Necessity and Propriety of making the *Declaratory Act*, which (as your Lordship said) so fully *asserts* the Supremacy of our Parliament over *America in all Cases whatsoever*.---I will admit, that *Declaratory Acts*, made in an *independent, honest, unsmuggled Parliament*, are clear and certain Evidences of the Original and Constitutional Existence of such Rights as they would still support; But, in *passive, fawning, corrupt, and venal Parliaments*, *Declaratory Acts* have often introduced *State-Persecutions, new Prerogatives, National Oppression, and Tyrannic Usurpation*.

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Your Lordship must allow this Observation to be just, unless you discredit ancient Records, Faithful History, and the Journals of both Houses of Parliament.

Your Lordship was aware of this Truth, you knew that *such an Act* must call up dissensions, debates, and murmurs, within doors and without; and therefore *wisely* wished your *Faction* had proceeded boldly, without the Aid of any Act at all, as if those Rights, and that universal Supremacy of Parliament, had been clear and indubitable, which that DECLARATORY ACT pretended to assume. This, my Lord, I own, is the true Spirit of ARISTOCRATICAL TYRRANY, perfectly consistent with your Lordship's Principles and Counsels, and would have been more consistent with those MINISTERIAL MEASURES which your Lordship so heartily approves.

[To be concluded in our next.]

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